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Bernard Neugeboren  
*Rutgers University*

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## SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL WELFARE ADMINISTRATION\*

Bernard Neugeboren

Rutgers University  
Graduate School of Social Work

### ABSTRACT

Effective administration of social welfare programs requires the integration of knowledge of social policy with the understanding of the theory and practice of management and administrative decision-making. This integration of substantive knowledge of social policy with administrative practice is needed to avoid overemphasis on means to the detriment of the goals of social programs. This paper discusses a policy analysis framework in relationship to a model of decision-making which includes rational and non-rational elements. Principles of policy formulation (major system change) is applied to specific issues in social welfare, i.e. should social services be directed at changing the individual client or his situation. Throughout, effort will be made to relate to Title XX to illustrate the issues and problems of attempting to integrate welfare policy and administration.

Effective administration of social welfare programs requires integration of knowledge of social policy with the understanding of the theory and practice of management and administrative decision-making. The need to integrate social welfare policy content and administrative and organizational issues becomes increasingly evident as the social welfare industry gives greater attention to the efficiency and effectiveness of social welfare organizations.<sup>1</sup> However, as Kahn<sup>2</sup> has noted, during the last decade there has been a tendency to underplay service content issues in favor of structural and organizational questions. He cites an example of this in his discussion of how service integration efforts to correct inefficiency seldom specified case-level outcome

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criteria. More efficient use of scarce resources is also being emphasized, especially when economic constraints are forcing administrators to be concerned with costs in making decisions between alternative policies and programs. The pressure for better utilization of existing resources has thus raised the issue in the management of social welfare organizations of the relative importance and the relationship between efficiency and effectiveness of social programs. Should management focus its efforts on cutting costs, or should more attention be given to assuring that programs achieve their intended purposes? Is efficiency and effectiveness mutually exclusive or can they be complementary? The underlying assumption of this emphasis on efficiency is that program effectiveness would not be diminished in the attempt to increase productivity of organizations. The issue this raises is whether emphasis on efficiency may have had a negative impact on the effectiveness of social welfare programs, i.e. the extent that agencies can achieve their stated purposes in serving client needs. The purpose of this paper is to suggest an approach that may help avoid the substitution of efficiency for effectiveness by emphasizing social policy as an integral part of social welfare administration.

The degree of emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness of social programs has led also to the concern as to who should manage social welfare programs, a manager or professional social worker. Is it preferable to have a non-social worker trained in business or public administration with technical administrative expertise, or is it desirable to have a person trained in the discipline of social work who by his training should have a better understanding of the goals and purposes of social programs? Etzioni<sup>3</sup> suggests the need to have professionals directing non-profit organizations in order to avoid goal displacement. He points to the problem that the non-professional manager may emphasize efficiency or means of achieving program goals at the expense of the ends or primary purposes of the program. The assumption here is that a person trained in a particular professional field, e.g. medicine, nursing, social work, would be able to direct the organization to achieve the primary goals of service to clients, with efficiency remaining the secondary goal. The introduction of specialized training in management in the various professions including hospital administration, nursing administration, educational administration and social work administration,<sup>4</sup> illustrates the attempt to integrate both knowledge of a specialized profession with that of technical knowledge of administration.

A significant attempt to achieve such an integration of social policy and administration is seen in Great Britain in programs in

social administration. Titmus defined social administration as "the study of the social services whose object is the improvement of the conditions of life of the individual."<sup>5</sup> He further states that social administration is concerned with "the machinery of administration which organizes and dispenses various forms of social assistance." However, much of the writings on social administration are directed at issues of social welfare policy with less attention given to the organizational problems involved in service delivery. A more directed effort at integration of policy and administration is achieved by David Donnison in his book, Social Policy and Administration.<sup>6</sup> This is a very important effort to integrate knowledge of organizational task, structure and process with policy analysis of service delivery in specific substantive areas such as housing, child welfare, family welfare, education, etc. It illustrates well the influence of the lower and middle levels in the organization on policy change and the possibilities for incremental, unplanned change. The distinction between policy making and policy implementation made by Donnison is useful in the understanding of the processes behind major shifts in organizational goals. The emphasis here differs from Donnison's work in that here efforts are made to integrate discussion of some general policy issues (e.g. universalism) with a more specific model of policy formulation concerned with major modification of organizational goals and strategies for achieving these goals. It is hoped that this somewhat more specific model will have utility for top administrators in their efforts to achieve planned organizational change in contrast to the evolutionary change discussed by Donnison.

Returning to the previous discussion of which profession is best equipped to manage social welfare organizations, it is of interest to note that in Great Britain the study of social administration was first introduced as training for social workers.<sup>7</sup> However, irregardless of who the manager is, it is proposed here that it is necessary for him to integrate substantive knowledge of social policy with administrative practice to avoid the overemphasis on means to the detriment of goals of social programs. This integration would require an understanding of social policy analysis together with a knowledge of administrative theory and practice. Social policy analysis based on understanding of particular social problems, for example poverty, corrections, mental illness, ill health, etc. would need to be integrated with knowledge of organizational opportunities and constraints on administrative practice. Also, social policy formulation in relationship to major change in goals and strategies for achieving goals of social programs need to be integrated with the understanding of the policy issues in the field of social welfare and management theory and practice.

The following will start with a discussion of social policy analysis integrated with principles of administrative decision-making in-

cluding both the rational and non-rational aspects or organizational problem solving. Following this will be a presentation of principles of policy formulation including major systems change in social programs. Finally, the framework developed for understanding of policy issues and policy formulation will be applied to a specific issue in social welfare, i.e. should social services be directed at changing the individual client or his situation. Throughout, effort will be made to relate to Title XX to illustrate the issues and problems of attempting to integrate welfare policy and administration.

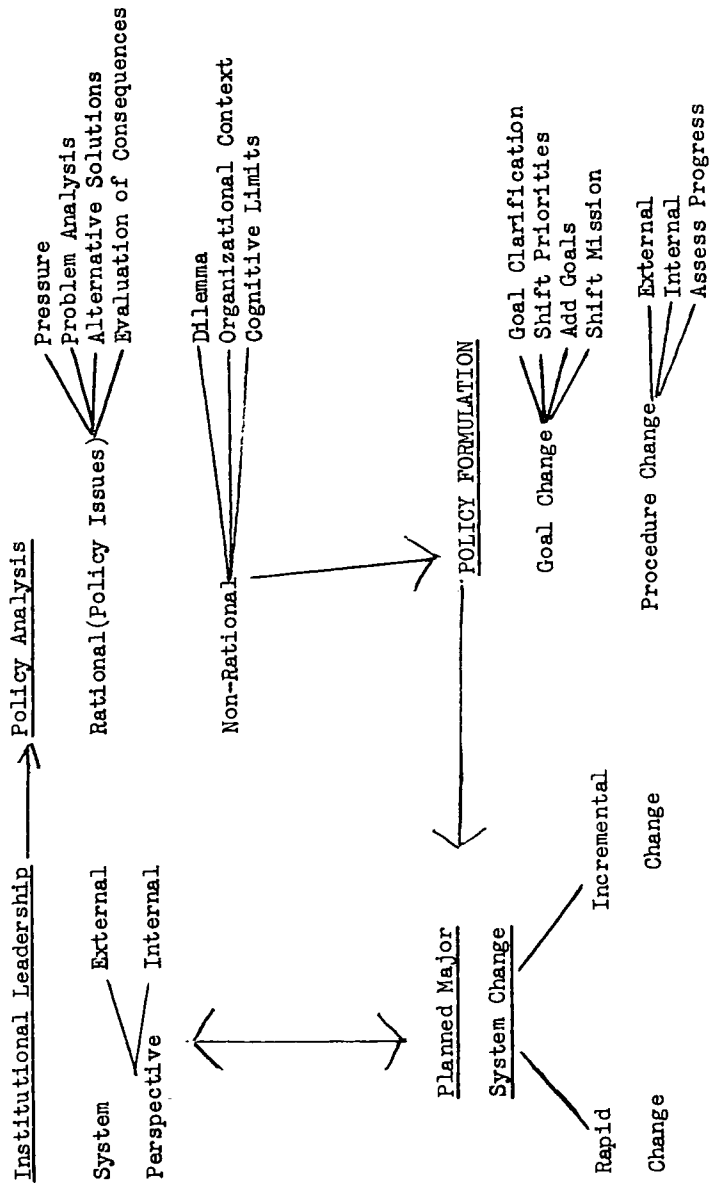
The following chart diagrams the concepts included in this analysis of the integration between social policy and administration. It shows the linkages between institutional leadership, policy analysis, policy formulation and major system change.

#### Social Policy Analysis - Rationality vs. Non Rationality

Social policy analysis involves the study of a social problem in a rational attempt to define the problem, search for possible solutions and evaluate the costs and benefits of these alternatives to select the best solution.<sup>8</sup>

This rational approach to finding the best answers to problems is constrained, however, by such non-rational factors as the organizational context in which decisions are made and the cognitive limitations of the decision maker. These non-rational factors preclude a completely objective approach to problem analysis, a thorough search for solutions, and an informed evaluation of the consequences of action. Thus, in the effort at problem definition, we are confronted with the limitations on our knowledge of the causes, and, therefore, the possible solutions to social problems. For example, if we view problems of the poor as being caused by individual and personal malfunction due to lack of appropriate abilities or attitudes, then we would seek solutions in terms of changing the individual. However, if we assume that the problem of the poor is associated with their harsh social conditions (e.g. lack of money, housing, jobs, health care, etc.), then we would seek solutions in terms of changing their situation.<sup>9</sup> The absence of validated knowledge as to the cause of social problems should not, however, relieve the policy maker from the responsibility for making conscious policy choices. It is suggested that often these policy choices are not made explicit so that the underlying value basis for decisions do not receive critical examination. That is, the administrators under pressure to act may forego the opportunity for conscious choice with the result that decisions are made often on the basis of political feasibility.

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Reinforcing these political pressures<sup>10</sup> from various interest groups (e.g. staff, funding authorities, etc.) are another non-rational factor: that of professional ideologies. These professional ideologies contain causal models for the solution of social problems. Professional belief systems which are logical and internally consistent sets of ideas are based on assumptions that have not been validated by empirical knowledge.<sup>11</sup> In a sense, they are similar to religions and consequently have much affective conviction behind them. However, these ideologies are often used to legitimate and mask the advancement of the self-interest of various groups.<sup>12</sup> As has been true throughout history, efforts to build empires are more palatable if done under the guise of doing good for mankind.

Therefore, rational policy analysis is constrained by non-rational factors. In decision-making processes in organizations, optimum decisions are not made, but problems are solved through a process of "satisfying."<sup>13</sup>

Satisfying means that decisions are made in response to various pressures from different interest groups. In the effort to minimize the resistance of these groups, compromise decisions are made. What operates in some respects is the pleasure principle in decision-making so that decisions are made which upset the fewest persons ("satisfy") rather than attempting to arrive at the "best" decisions.

The organizational context also preclude a completely rational decision-making process. In general, problems are solved by looking at and using past precedents as a guide for decision-making. Problems are solved today like they were solved yesterday. One seeks solutions by looking at existing policies. Innovative solutions requiring policy change are rarely considered, and if they are, only as a last resort in solving organizational problems.

Rein<sup>14</sup> has suggested that there is a need to reconcile "rationality, political feasibility and value preferences" in policy making in social welfare. However, as indicated above, problems are often defined in terms of existing policies and past precedent. A dilemma,<sup>15</sup> which can be defined as something requiring a reformulation of existing policies, usually are not readily recognized by the decision-maker. For example, in Title XX, there is much emphasis on public participation in the development and the implementation of policies for social services. The basic dilemma implicit in this emphasis is the delegation of power to citizen groups to influence social policy. Since existing policies in most social welfare organizations do not operationally share power with citizen groups, this poses a paradox

for the implementation of Title XX. That is, in order to really implement true public participation, it will be necessary to modify in a major way existing policies on the control and the influence by various publics in the operation of welfare agencies.<sup>16</sup>

Given the pressure for system maintenance one can question whether any change is possible. In fact opportunities for change in social programs is feasible because of the wide areas of administrative discretion present in social welfare organizations. There is increasing evidence<sup>17</sup> that administrators have expanding areas of discretion in interpreting rules and policies. This is possible because most policies and rules are of a general nature which allow for a wide latitude in their interpretation. For example, in Title XX, there appears to be a wide area of discretion in the determination of kinds of social services that may be possible including both concrete and counseling services. Later in this paper, a policy analysis of these two alternative strategies for service delivery, concrete vs. soft services will be analyzed in detail.

A reason often given for not making decisions explicit is the possible negative consequences of making choices visible and, therefore, being held accountable for them. With the stress on accountability in social programs in recent years, this strategy of not making choices explicit has become less feasible. However, it is believed that the effective administrator, who has a professional objective which he wants to achieve, needs to have his own system of accountability to guide his actions. It is suggested here that the professional administrator in fulfilling his ethical commitment to serve the needs of the client has to make visible the policy choices available to him. This rational procedure should be integrated with knowledge of the non-rational factors that influence decision-making. This is an illustration of the administrator's need to integrate knowledge of social policy with understanding of organizational opportunities and constraints. Thus, he has to be clear as to what the alternative goals may be possible for social programs and what major strategies are appropriate for achieving these goals. This would involve a process of policy formulation, i.e. a process of formulating policy in an effort to introduce major system change in social programs. This concept of policy formulation which will be discussed in the next section assumes that major innovations are needed in social programs and that the integration of policy and administration will aid leaders in accomplishing this type of change.



## Social Policy Formulation<sup>18</sup>

Social policy formulation is here defined as a major change in the organization involving either a change in the substantive goals of the organization or in the major strategies or procedures used for achieving these goals.

### Major System Change

Major system change here refers to change in the social structure of the organization, i.e. in the activities and arrangements occurring in the organization. For example, the role and functions of different staff, communication patterns in the organization, the client group served, the authority or decision-making patterns in the organization, the relationship with other organizations, etc. This definition of social policy in behavioral terms, i.e. the actual activities of people in the organization, leads us to conclude that an organization's policy is what actually is happening in the agency in terms of the patterned behavior of the staff. Social policy formulation is, therefore, also associated with organizational behavior, but in this instance, it refers to a major change in this behavior. This definition of social policy as behavior is in contrast to the common use of the term policy to mean a plan or an intention for an agency to achieve certain objectives or to change agency programs in the future. As we all know, much intended or hoped for change often does not materialize. This behavioral definition should help us be clear that when we are discussing social policy formulation we mean actual change and not some idealized fantasy for change.

This definition of policy formulation can include both planned and unplanned major system change. However, in the integration of social policy formulation with administrative practice, the emphasis is on planned change directed by the leaders in the organization. Also, this definition of policy formulation does not include a consideration of the process of policy implementation, but rather focuses on the cognitive aspects of policy identification and analysis.

The importance of making a distinction between major system change involving large segments of the organization's activities in contrast to minor change is that although much of the efforts at changing social welfare organizations today aspire to major change, in fact they often result in only minor modifications in organizational activities and objectives. This is the case even though these changes are advertised as major innovations. Here, one can speculate as to the impact of Title XX on existing organizations' service delivery patterns, and decision-making structures, and whether, in fact, these organizational activities will undergo major revisions. Will Title XX result

in a change in programs, or will it be basically "old wine in new bottles?" An analysis of the experiences in the first year of Title XX suggests that few states planned new programs.<sup>19</sup> Hoshino suggests that the programs under Title XX will be a "relabeling of programs or the aggregation into a tidier bureaucratic structure of the existing traditional services."<sup>20</sup>

An example of how minor system change was advertised as major innovation is illustrated in the use of the demonstration project as was very popular in the 1960's. It is of interest to note that often these demonstration projects were launched without major opposition and often were considered to be successful in the small area in which they operated. However, in terms of impact on the major segment of the system, these projects often had minimal influence. It is suggested that one of the reasons these projects have had limited impact is because they were not involved in major system change and, therefore, did not need to deal with the expected resistance to any large scale innovation. As Rein<sup>21</sup> has stated "Demonstrations seem to be a way to get action. They spark flurries of activity; they are highly visible; the defects are equally glaring. Demonstrations are also a way to dodge action or postpone major change - relatively little money is spent, relatively few people are affected, the real problem is hardly touched."

It is, therefore, suggested by our definition of policy formulation that we should be concerned with major changes in organizational goals and substantive procedures, being aware that inherent in any major change are expected resistance by those interests that are threatened by a change in the status quo. It is proposed, therefore, that one necessary prerequisite for major change is the presence of strong external pressure on the organization.

#### Environmental Pressure as Precondition For Major System Change

Because of the inherent resistance to major change from vested interests inside and outside the organization, it is suggested that policy formulation requires as a precondition, strong external pressure. Thus, the natural resistance to change that one can expect from inside the system needs to be counterbalanced by external pressure. Today, the fiscal crunch may provide an opportunity for administrators to introduce innovations on the grounds that they are needed in order to respond to outside fiscal pressures and conditions. An example of this may be present in Title XX legislation and implementation. For example, Title XX proposes a major change in public participation in policy formulation. There is some indication that pressure from different constituent groups

particularly from the voluntary sector, may have a major impact on the goals of Title XX. For example, the organized pressure from the service providers of day care may have a lot to do with shaping the goals of Title XX. Whether service provider participation meets the requirement of public participation is an issue that should be considered.<sup>22</sup> However, given the presence of this strong external pressure, there is some possibility that major change will occur. Whether the nature of this change will further the goals of Title XX remains to be seen. Thus, external pressure may not only provide the administrator with the lever to introduce innovation, but also shape the kind of change that may occur.

#### Goal vs. Procedure Change

It has been suggested that there are two major ways that organizations can be changed, either in terms of their substantive goals and objectives, or in the procedures or major strategies used in achieving these goals.

#### Goal Change

Major goal change refers to major modifications in the objectives of social welfare organizations. For example, change from custodial to rehabilitation goals of a mental hospital. In referring to goals of an organization, we include the actual or operative goals which may or may not be the same as the organization's officially prescribed goals. Also, goal change refers to what has been termed as output goals,<sup>23</sup> that is the objectives directly related to client outcome. For example, Title XX lists several kinds of goals relating to client status, including economic self-support, client self-sufficiency, protection of children and adults, reduction in inappropriate institutional care by providing community services, and finally, provision of appropriate institutional care.<sup>24</sup>

Goal change can consist of any of the following: goal clarification, adding of new goals, shifting of priorities among goals, and shifting of the mission of the organization. Study of policy formulation<sup>25</sup> indicates that in most situations, goal change consists of goal clarification rather than adding goals, shifting priorities or shift in the mission. Goal clarification consists of a reordering of the relationship between goals and procedures to avoid the problem of goal displacement. In some respects, Title XX legislation may be an effort to clarify what the goals of social services should be and to specify what the relationship of these goals should be to the different kinds of strategies or procedures for achieving them. This emphasis on program goals in

Title XX seems to be a major change of emphasis in federal policy from stress on specific mandated services (means) to specification of goals giving the states flexibility in the selection of what services are appropriate for achievement of these goals. Paul Mott in his social history of Title XX, describes well the debate that occurred prior to the enactment of this law. Proponents of mandated services were concerned that unless specific services were required, the states would use Title XX funds to refinance existing programs ("old wine in new bottles"). The proponents of the goal emphasis, which went back to the ideas of Goal Oriented Social Services (G.O.S.S.),<sup>26</sup> argues that unless goals were clearly and explicitly stated, there was danger of displacement of goals on to the means.<sup>27</sup>

As suggested previously, policy formulation is defined as change in actual goals rather than merely in the officially stated goals. This may also be illustrated in the implementation of Title XX legislation. There is some indication that the resources of Title XX may be going into day care programs for the non-poor because of the matching requirements. With the eligibility requirements for Title XX pegged to the median state income, persons with annual income up to \$12-15,000 are eligible. Also with the requirements of matching funds coming from the local communities, the more affluent towns are in a better position to provide the match and, therefore, obtain the programs. Thus, it appears that Title XX may result in fact in a major change in the target of services with a shift to day care for middle class clients.

These consequences of Title XX can be in part related to the basic policy choice between universal vs. selective social services. Social policy analysts have long debated the advantages associated with universal vs. selective social services. Universal programs which are available to all classes (e.g. education) have the distinct advantage of being seen as more legitimate by society and, therefore, receive more support. Selective programs, on the other hand, tend to be seen as less legitimate and, if they are confined to the poor, are said to be poor programs because of lack of public and financial support. However, the inevitable problem of limited resources requires us to be concerned with priority setting.<sup>28</sup> Selective programs, such as the present public welfare programs, or the CAP projects in the 1960's, do give priority of service to the poor and prevent the "creaming" by the middle class. The question regarding a universal program like Title XX is whether the increased legitimacy of this kind of program will increase the resources allocated so that the poor in the long run will benefit. This, in a sense, assumes a "trickling" down of resources from middle to lower classes or in a sense, feeding the birds through feeding the horses.

Richard Titmus' discussion of issues in redistribution in social policy dramatically highlights the choices inherent in priority setting to achieve what he terms as "social growth." Social growth means that "societies are spending more on the educationally deprived than on the educationally normal; when the rehousing of the poor is proceeding at a greater rate than the rehousing of the middle classes; when proportionately more medical care is being devoted to the needs of the long term chronically ill than to those of the average sick; when more social workers are moving into public programs than into private child guidance clinics; when there are smaller differentials in incomes and assets between rich and poor, colored and pink families."<sup>29</sup>

Social welfare administrators in formulating social policy for their agencies should consider the consequences of the alternative policies of universalism vs. selectivity being aware of the value issue behind priority setting of redistribution of resources from more to less needy.

It has also been noted by George Hoshino<sup>30</sup> that social insurances (universal services) "creams off" the more "socially acceptable casualties of industrial society - the aged, involuntarily unemployed, disabled and widows and surviving children. The three major groups of non-aged poor are the families of the fully employed low wage earners, the families of uninsurable and unemployable men and fatherless families." He suggests that these latter groups will require selective programs. Thus, we see that universal services respond more to the needs of the "deserving poor."<sup>31</sup> The less fortunate (undeserving poor) will require special programs to meet their needs. Hopefully, the needs of both groups will be viewed as deserving attention. However, if a policy choice is made to favor the "deserving" poor, it should be recognized as such with the realization of the possible consequences to our society.<sup>32</sup>

Related to major change in the goals of social programs is the change in procedures or strategies used by organizations to achieve these goals.

#### Procedure Change

In general, much social policy formulation in recent years has focused on change in strategies for achieving goals rather than changes in the goals themselves.

These major strategies refer to three primary areas that include strategies that the organization uses in relationship to: (1) its external environment; (2) internal problems; and (3) assessment of organizational progress.<sup>33</sup>

### External Relations

There have been some major shifts in all three of these areas in recent years. With regard to procedural change in how organizations deal with external relations, much has occurred which highlights a shift to a more open relationship between organizations, with the realization that much interdependency exists. Thus, there have been increasing efforts at attempting coordination and development of inter-organizational relationships. However, there is still much parochialism and competition between social welfare organizations which has hindered effective coordination. An inward orientation by social agencies has been justified on the grounds that there are limited resources in the community. However, there is some evidence to suggest that public welfare agencies under utilize community resources.<sup>34</sup> When they do have interorganizational exchanges, there are indications that these are somewhat superficial and brief.<sup>35</sup> Lack of adequate coordination has resulted in clients being shifted between agencies and often lost in the cracks between agencies.<sup>36</sup> Basic to a solution of these problems of interagency coordination is the understanding that a necessary precondition for cooperation between autonomous agencies is the need for them to have shared goals and resources.<sup>37</sup> First, there must be a certain degree of interdependence in order for organizations to need to cooperate. If these conditions don't exist, if for example two agencies have competing goals and don't need to trade resources, e.g. staff, knowledge, clients, etc., then effective coordination will be difficult. The problems of coordination between state and county welfare agencies may be fruitfully analyzed using this paradigm for interagency coordination and exchange. Another example is the WIN program which requires cooperation between Depts. of Welfare and Labor. To what extent are the problems in coordination in WIN related to non-shared goals between these two organizations (e.g. Welfare and Employment). As indicated above, Title XX also has attempted to emphasize more open relationships between organizations and their constituencies. Also, the opportunity for an increase in purchase of service arrangements will require greater cooperation and coordination between agencies in the public and the voluntary sector.<sup>38</sup> What is suggested here is that this will require major changes in the policies governing these interorganizational relations and that the success of these policies will depend on, among other things, the ability of these organizations to cooperate by sharing goals and resources. Administrators who are cognizant of the principles of interorganizational exchange will need to strive for sharing of goals and trading of resources if they are to achieve effective coordination of programs.

### Internal Problems

Policy formulation with regard to problems internal to the organization are also becoming more common in efforts to introduce innovations in organizational arrangements. The effort at decentralizing social service structures is a major policy change which effects not only the role structure, but the decision making structures of organizations. This would explain why many of these efforts to decentralize have run into a good deal of resistance from the various staff groups who would lose influence and power under this new arrangement. This concern by upper level staff at loss of control may be true in terms of the day-to-day activities of lower level employees. However, this often does not mean that the power to shape organizational policies and goals is decentralized.<sup>39</sup> Thus, although the policy of decentralization does diminish the power and control that upper level staff have over the daily behavior of subordinates, it doesn't necessarily follow that there is also a giving up of the more significant power over the basic premises on which the organization operates.

The efforts to introduce new service technologies are other examples of policy formulation and procedural change with regard to internal organizational arrangements. For example, the stress in Title XX of the importance of various concrete services (e.g. family planning) may be a major shift for some organizations which have traditionally emphasized the client changing technology. This stress on such concrete services as homemaker services, employment services will require changes in relationships between various agencies since there will probably be a dependence on the sharing of resources between agencies in order to meet program goals. This will, as indicated above, require new kinds of agreements between organizations, suggesting major policy shifts in their interorganizational relationships.

An issue related to change in the service technologies is the assumption that seems to be implied by the universal service approach is that all clients have similar needs. In this instance, the issue is whether the poor, in contrast to the working and middle class clients, have problems and needs which are possibly very different. As suggested by many poverty studies, the poor ask for and require basic survival services such as money, housing, jobs and health care (hard services). The middle class, on the other hand, often seek personal adjustment services. Would a service delivery model geared to the middle classes take into account the need of the poor for basic resources? The proposals put forth by Alfred Kahn for a sixth Social

Service,<sup>40</sup> the personal social services, separate from education, income security, health, employment and housing seems to understress the needs of the poor for these basic social provisions. At least, it is implied that social work would have less responsibility for these "survival" services. Although it is recognized that personal social services cannot substitute for sufficient money, adequate housing, or a good education, there is a need to explain how the professional deals with the limited resources problem and necessity for priority setting. Britain, which pioneered in universal social services, has been confronted with this dilemma and has been introducing means tests in order to assure that the most needy obtain the services.<sup>41</sup> One wonders whether this push by professional social work groups<sup>42</sup> for a universal social service model may be in part a quest for legitimacy by the profession itself. Social work as a profession has been stigmatized by its association with a lower class clientele.

#### Assessment of Progress

The last area of procedural policy change relates to the strategy an organization uses for assessing its progress. Traditionally, the social welfare field has tended to assess its programs by using the strategy of what one might call the "self-fulfilling prophecy." That is, the justification of services on the basis of client demand as illustrated, for example, by long waiting lists for services. By contrast, an alternative strategy for assessing progress is to use objective criteria to determine whether in fact the goals of the organization are being met. Thus, it has been suggested that the new breed of public welfare executive needs to be outcome oriented.<sup>43</sup> Here again, it appears that stress on goal oriented social services in Title XX and other programs may move organizations in the direction of using more objective criteria in evaluating its efforts. However, in order to achieve objective evaluation one's goals need to be operational, that is, specific enough so that one can determine if they have been accomplished. The lesson that should have been learned from the 1962 social service amendments was that the goal of "strengthening family life" was too global to be made operational. Are the goals established for Title XX also too general and global to permit objective appraisal? For example, one of the goals is the protection of children and adults. How would one determine whether this particular goal has been achieved?

There is another lesson to be learned from the "social service strategy" of the 1962 amendments and that was the unrealistic assumption that social services would reduce the welfare rolls. Does Title



XX have equally unrealistic objectives? The problem of objective assessment of programs and the establishment of operational goals relates to the difficulty of knowing what means will achieve which objectives. This brings us back to the previous discussion of the beliefs as to the cause and solution of social problems. Unless we clarify such questions as to the cause and solution of economic dependency, for example, we will fall into the same trap as happened in 1962 of making unrealistic claims for what social services can accomplish with a repetition of the public backlash as occurred in the 1970's.

Another problem associated with objective appraisal of social programs is the resistance by staff to the attempts at the introduction of accountability systems based often on strong ideological opposition: that it is time consuming, dehumanizing and unprofessional to fill out all those forms. With regard to the complaint that the reporting procedures in Title XX require excess amounts of time, a study in New York revealed that in fact, the amount of staff time required to fill out these forms was small.<sup>44</sup> Opposition also has been based on a more valid reason and that is that the measurement of results has not been emphasized, but rather the use of input, such as number of client contacts, as a criteria for progress. Regardless of the problems in implementing a new strategy for assessing social programs, it appears that the pressure to shift to more objective attempts to measure results will foster major policy change in this area.

Title XX may again be used to illustrate the difficulties of objective assessment of organizational progress. As indicated previously, it appears that much of the thrust of Title XX will be in day care services. These services will probably be in voluntary agencies. Thus, it seems possible that much of public funds will be funnelled into the voluntary sector of social welfare. The obvious question then becomes how the states will monitor and account for these services. We don't have to look far for the potentially explosive consequences of lack of adequate systems for monitoring the expenditure of public funds in non-public agencies (e.g. nursing homes,<sup>45</sup> medicaid). There is evidence<sup>46</sup> to suggest that public vs. voluntary sponsorship of social welfare organizations will result in very different service patterns. In a study of psychiatric clinics in New York State, it was found that clinics under public auspice provide extensive ("wholesale") services to socially deviant clients, while voluntary clinics gave intensive service ("retail") to less deviant groups.

Clinics under voluntary sponsorship who received public funds

were not as intensive as those clinics that received no public money. This illustrates an effect that public funding may have on voluntary agency programs.<sup>47</sup> Other evidence indicates that public welfare agencies seem to be able to have more joint activities with other public agencies in contrast with non-public organizations which have less.<sup>48</sup> The influence of public and voluntary sponsorship of agencies is dramatically evident when one compares social services in the U.S. and Britain. Historically, the voluntary agency (especially the family service agency) has had an important influence on the type of the services provided in the U.S. as well as the nature of the development of the profession of social work. Thus, the emphasis in the U.S. has been on soft services stressing personal relationship skills with training in casework method. In contrast, in Britain where statutory services predominate, the stress has been on the provision of practical help, with emphasis on training in social administration.<sup>49</sup> Thus, it appears that the monitoring of purchase of service from the voluntary social welfare sector will require an understanding of the differences between the public and voluntary agencies, both in regard to their goals and willingness to share resources. Nevertheless, the issue of objective monitoring and evaluation will probably receive increasing attention as fiscal constraints press for greater accountability and professionals no longer can justify their programs on the basis of demand alone.

Before concluding this discussion of the importance of objective appraisal of the results of social programs, a cautionary note needs to be introduced.<sup>50</sup> This relates to organizational constraints on objective evaluation. Some critics say that often so called "scientific research" is conducted to justify decisions already made. The advantages and disadvantages need to be examined of evaluative research conducted by persons working for the agency in contrast with that being directed from some external source. Some contend that "inside" research tends to be co-opted by the system while others say that outside evaluators lack the detailed knowledge of the system to be able to do relevant evaluations. The issue here is that mechanisms need to be established to insure that disregarding who does the research, it will be relevant and not be subverted by the political pressures in the organization.<sup>51</sup> Associated with this problem of research being co-opted by the system is the somewhat more pervasive tendency for researchers to prefer system maintenance studies which do not question the basic premises of programs. From a social policy formulation perspective, we need research that will not assume that more of the same is the inevitable solution of social problems. An example of this type of research are the community studies that focus on unmet service needs

with the assumption made that existing services are appropriate and relevant. A "system change" oriented research is required that will direct attention at the basic assumptions of social programs.<sup>52</sup>

Policy formulation has been discussed as planned major system change with the underlying assumption that such innovation can occur in a relatively short period of time. The radical strategy for change may be contrasted with a more gradual policy change that evolves over an extended time period. This incremental type of planned change<sup>53</sup> requires less of a conflict strategy and may be more feasible politically than a rapid shift in the organization's goals and procedures, because it will be less visible and, therefore, may be perceived as less of a threat to existing self-interests. Administrators can achieve incremental change by gradually "bending" the system through the use of discretionary power. Although this strategy for introducing policy change is less conflictual, it does require skill in understanding the existing system so that changes will be introduced in such a manner as to create a minimum of resistance.<sup>54</sup> However, a basic problem inherent in the achievement of incremental change is the opportunity for the opposition to have the time to mobilize forces against the change. Therefore, the understanding of the dynamics of sub-systems would be essential for the administrator to enable him to navigate around the various barriers set up by the different interest groups. Integration of this internal sub-system perspective with a clear understanding of what goals and procedures need to be modified (i.e. policy analysis) could enable the executive to move his organization on new paths.

#### Implications for Administration of Social Programs

Major system change as suggested above is problematic even under ideal circumstances, such as when resources are available. That is, the assumption is made that any introduction of major change in policy will naturally run into opposition of the various interest groups within the organization. Therefore, it is suggested that what is required is a combination of executive leadership with the continued strong external pressures if these changes are to actually be implemented. It was suggested that administrators can use external pressures as a lever. They may even foster and utilize actively external pressure in order to innovate and facilitate policy formulation. However, this requires a certain perspective on the part of the administrator - that is an awareness of the relationship between external pressure and internal innovation, what has been described as an "external system perspective."<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, one study found that an inward orientation may increase as one moves up the agency hierarchy.<sup>56</sup>

Throughout this paper, the issue of universal vs. selective services was discussed in somewhat general terms. The question may be asked as to what implication this issue may have for administrators directing programs at the local level. Since achieving legitimation of social programs is often an important problem for administrators, the attempt to facilitate this through a universalistic approach to service delivery is tempting. That is, making available services to the middle classes with sliding fee scales is seen as a way of gaining greater community support and acceptance. However, the gains achieved by this policy must be weighed against the possible risks of having the non-poor "cream" or dominate the program with the consequence of the exclusion of the poor. For example, it has been observed that in the community mental health field a policy of universal service has resulted in program utilization and domination by the non-poor. This is evident in the community psychiatric clinic field<sup>57</sup> as well as in the mental health centers. Thus, the community mental health centers have not fulfilled the objective of replacing the state mental hospitals which continue to provide custodial care to the lower classes.<sup>58</sup>

The attempt has been made above to present a framework for policy analysis by introducing various concepts associated with policy formulation and major organizational innovation. Next, this model is applied to a specific example of the goal of public social services: changing the individual or changing his situation. Related to this is the issue of concrete vs. soft services in the solution of social problems in our society.

#### Concrete vs. Soft Services - Changing the Client or his Situation

The policy question of whether the goal of social programs for the poor should be directed at changing the client or his situation has been debated going back to Jane Adams in the reform movement in social welfare in the 19th Century. The alternative strategies for achieving these goals has been referred to in terms of social provision vs. social services.<sup>59</sup> Handler discusses these two approaches as stemming from two theories of poverty: pathology vs. the structuralists theories. The pathology theorists would reform the poor; the structuralists would change the environment in which the poor live.<sup>60</sup>

Scott Briar in an editorial in the Social Work Journal in March 1976 states that no profession has taken as its task the assessment and alteration of the social environment in relation to the lives and needs of people.<sup>61</sup> He suggests that this offers professional social work an opportunity to make use of the "growing body of knowledge about social

circumstances and how they influence the lives of persons and families." The issue is what should be the target of social services: should it be directly on the client in an effort to change individual functioning or should it emphasize provision of concrete resources in order to modify the client's situation. Underlying this issue is the difficulty of problem definition - more specifically who should define the problem: the client or the professional? Here is an example of how professionals have defined problems in terms of their own belief systems<sup>62</sup> which may be quite different from the way the clients view their problems. Thus, evidence indicates that lower class clients perceive their problems in terms of lack of concrete resources. In one study,<sup>63</sup> it was found that users of social services in public welfare list money as their first need and jobs as next in their priorities. Medical services are also listed high on their priority list. The studies<sup>64</sup> following the urban riots in the 1960's confirmed the wishes of ghetto residents for concrete material resources. However, professional definition of the problem often has suggested the need for client internal, psychological and personal change as the primary objective of social services.<sup>65</sup>

As indicated previously, some of the professional leaders are beginning to question this psychological emphasis. A recent attempt to reconceptualize the role for social work as being concerned for the "personal care" of people has been proposed by Robert Morris.<sup>66</sup> He defines personal care services as "those which the individual requires in order to exist in the face of severe physical or psychological or social deficits." He includes such services as: "home maker services, home health services, day care for children, services in day centers for the mentally ill, in day centers or night hospitals for the retarded; services for the elderly, the physically handicapped, the injured; services in mental hospitals, prisons, halfway houses, protective services for children and for the elderly." He goes on to say that "such services may incorporate concepts of rehabilitation, training, socialization, but these elements do not distinguish or characterize the personal care service. What does distinguish it is the fact that a staff of persons is functionally, legally, and professionally responsible for the life of the persons entrusted to its care for some part of the day or for the entire day." <sup>67</sup>

Although this proposal for personal care services highlights the value of concrete type services, it does so without an explicit definition of the problem for which this policy change is being formulated. It does stress the importance of "maintaining individuals with severe deficits and handicaps in a humane and civilized fashion wherein their

care and living are the main focus of professional concern rather than treatment and rehabilitation to remove the deficit." Implicit here is the assumption that the needs these clients have is for "care" with "action" oriented efforts by the service provider being required. What needs to be made more explicit here are the factors that are assumed to be the cause of this type of service need. If the client problem is defined as being in his situation, i.e. lack of adequate (humane) care, then the focus should be on the situation. Morris seems to accept the individual deficits as being somewhat unchangeable, which is refreshing in a field where we too glibly assume the power and competence to change individual attitudes and behavior which more often than not are the results of forces outside the person.

Alfred Kahn,<sup>68</sup> in his comment on Morris' proposal, recognizes the utility of "hard" services and suggests Title XX may be a vehicle for implementing the Morris model. However, those who advocate expansion of the scope of social services in Title XX, do not confront the issue of the need for priorities, given the limited resources available. By expanding the scope of social services to include anything and everything, the policy choice becomes diffuse and unclear with the result that other forces will formulate the policy, e.g. professional need for status will push in the direction of counselling service as one of the social services.

These two conflicting problem definitions would seem to place the responsibility on the administrator of a public service agency to be clear as to his policy choice. By taking the position that there should be a "balance"<sup>69</sup> between hard and soft services, they forego the option of choice and, in fact, permit other forces to decide on policy: that is, how the bulk of resources of the organization will actually be utilized. As suggested above, policy formulation is making decisions as to what will be the major direction of the organization. Operationally, this is translated into how much of its resources will be allocated. If policy analysis concludes that the "need" and "want" of the poor is for concrete services, then advocating a "comprehensive" approach may sidetrack the basic policy thrust. Policy formulation, as indicated previously, is concerned with major change in the sum total activities of the system. To be concerned with a program (e.g. counselling) that is appropriate for only a small proportion of the clientele is, therefore, by definition not policy-making.

This issue of what should be the target for social service programs, the client or a situation, can be further related to policy formulation: that of goal clarification of social service programs. What should the

goals of these programs be, and which means are appropriate for achieving these goals? This directs attention to the relationship between goals of changing clients vs. changing a situation and which should come first. In other words, what is the cause and what is the effect. If one changes the client, will this enable him to change the situation and to find his own resources, or is the reverse possible? That is, through providing the client with resources, this will enable him to grow and to change personally. A third possibility is that these two emphases are independent and should be dealt with separately by social service programs.

These questions on the possible cause and effect relationships between changing the person or his situation may stimulate administrators to seek answers through a strategy of systematic program evaluation. This might be done through a comparative study of different service approaches. Thus, in an effort to objectively evaluate a social service program one may consider comparing the relative effects on clients problems of soft vs. hard services. Although this paper has emphasized the need to be concerned with changing clients social conditions, we do not have systematic information to test out the relative value of one or both of these service strategies. An administrator of a public welfare program could make an important contribution to the field by allowing a research demonstration project to test this issue.

The problem of defining this issue can also be related to our previous discussion of an organizational dilemma. As indicated, a dilemma is a situation which requires a reformulation of the framework for viewing a problem which requires a major policy change because existing policies cannot provide a solution. Previous policies and past precedents have tended to define social problems in individual personal terms. The attempt to view problems of clients external to themselves would require reformulation of policy and looking to new and innovative solutions. As suggested previously, this would require a major system change both in the goals of our programs as well as in the strategies and procedures for achieving these goals. Thus, if we were to define problems in terms of client lack of concrete resources, then our organizations would have to develop new approaches for helping clients use available resources.<sup>70</sup> Thus, knowledge and skill would be required for the analysis of existing community resources, and in knowing how to mediate for the client in obtaining these resources. Implied here is the development of new kinds of social service technologies which would be directed to interorganizational cooperation. This, in itself, would require policy changes on the top level in order to establish interorganizational contracts and agreements for agency sharing of resources to enable clients to meet

their needs.<sup>71</sup> This is illustrated in a study<sup>72</sup> of an application of the APWA Social Service delivery model in Delaware County. It was noted here that there was a problem in implementation of the community service component of that model. Although the intraorganizational aspects were apparently successful, there appeared to be difficulty in the mobilization of existing community services in behalf of clients. It is suggested that this may be an illustration of the difficulty of reformulating existing policies including the development of new policies and strategies directed at interorganizational cooperation and coordination.

There may not have been an adequate delineation of the basic issue here of what the target of service should be: the client or his situation. Defining the problem in terms of client's situation would require new policies associated with the kinds of interorganizational arrangements needed to implement a more effective community service utilization component. The difficult task of establishing agreements between autonomous agencies may not have been addressed since attention was more naturally directed toward the internal organizational procedures. Lack of professional technologies relevant for the development of interorganizational exchange relationships may also have been part of the problem.

### Conclusions

This paper has attempted to discuss how it is possible to integrate knowledge of social welfare policy and administrative practice through the application of various concepts on social policy analysis, policy formulation and organizational decision-making (see chart). Illustrations of the applicability of these concepts to Title XX were given with some speculation as to the implications for this new federal social services program.

In conclusion, the implications for administration of public social agencies will be presented. Also, the kind of education that would be required to enable administrators to integrate social welfare policy in their management of social welfare programs will be discussed.

It has been suggested that the kind of leadership needed to effectively direct social programs requires an understanding of both social policy and administrative theory and practice. This has been characterized by Selznick as the "institutional leader" which he distinguishes from mere administrative efficiency.<sup>73</sup> This type of leadership necessitates a systemic perspective which requires conceptual abilities that overshadow in importance the technical and human relations skills often stressed in management training.<sup>74</sup> The major thrust of this paper is



that institutional leadership requires not only the understanding of how to operate human service organizations, but also a broader perspective based on the knowledge of social welfare policy. It is suggested that this broad perspective is particularly essential for administration at the upper levels of management.

The question then arises as to how upper level administrators can obtain the knowledge and skill for institutional leadership. It has been noted that there has been an expansion in specialized programs in human service administration. These programs are usually on the masters levels of education and of necessity prepare students for lower and middle management positions.<sup>75</sup> What is proposed here is that what is needed is a post-graduate program geared to preparing personnel for institutional leadership at the top levels of administration. Present Ph.D. programs in administration and public policy do not meet this need since their focus is on research and preparation for University teaching rather than administrative practice. It is, therefore, proposed that a post masters program in administration should be instituted that would enable a social work middle management personnel to obtain a practice doctorate with the combined emphasis on social policy and administration. The practice doctorate has been instituted in some fields (e.g. psychology) and a task force of the Council on Social Work Education has come forth with a proposal for one in social work.<sup>76</sup> It is believed feasible for graduate schools of social work to sponsor such a program. This advanced program should enable middle management personnel to expand their knowledge and skill to include the broader perspective needed for current and future leadership of social welfare programs. Unless this type of leadership is developed, we will continue to sacrifice effectiveness for efficiency and avoid confronting the critical issues that are demanding clarification and solution by the social welfare field.

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